

**From:** "Drouin, Lindsey E."  
**To:** "Kavanaugh, Brett M."  
**Subject:** RE:  
**Sent:** Fri, 11 Nov 2005 10:32:38 -0500  
[StateOfTheUnion2003#20 Ann.doc](#)

Let me know what you need from me as far as edits to that insert.

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**From:** Kavanaugh, Brett M.  
**Sent:** Friday, November 11, 2005 10:30 AM  
**To:** Drouin, Lindsey E.  
**Subject:**

Do you have annotated for 2003 SOTU on your system. Thanks.

State of the Union Address  
January 28, 2003  
Draft #20

Mr. Speaker, Vice President Cheney, Members of Congress,  
distinguished guests, fellow citizens:

Every year, by law and by custom, we meet here to consider the state of the union.<sup>1</sup> This year, we gather in this chamber deeply aware of decisive days that lie ahead.

You and I serve our country in a time of great consequence. During this session of Congress, we have the duty to reform domestic programs vital to our country ... and we have the opportunity to save millions of lives abroad from a terrible disease. We will work for a prosperity that is broadly shared ... and we will answer every danger and every enemy that threatens the American people.

In all these days of promise and days of reckoning, we can be confident. In a whirlwind of change, and hope, and peril, our faith is sure, our resolve is firm, and our union is strong.

This country has many challenges. We will not deny, we will not ignore, we will not pass along our problems to other Congresses, other presidents, and other generations. We will confront them with focus, and clarity, and courage.

During the last two years, we have seen what can be accomplished when we work together. To lift the standards of our public schools, we achieved historic education reform – which must now be carried out in every school, and every classroom, so that every child in America can read, and learn, and succeed in life.<sup>2</sup> To protect our country, we

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<sup>1</sup> “He [the President] shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.” Constitution of the United States, Article II, Section III. (<http://www.law.cornell.edu/constitution/constitution.articleii.html#section3/>).

<sup>2</sup> H.R. 1, Sponsor: Rep Boehner, John A. [OH-8] (introduced 3/22/2001) Related Bills: [H.CON.RES.289](#), [H.RES.143](#), [H.RES.315](#), [S.1](#) Latest Major Action: 1/8/2002 Became Public Law No: 107-110. Title: To close the achievement gap with accountability, flexibility, and choice, so that no child is left behind.

reorganized our government and created the Department of Homeland Security – which is mobilizing against the threats of a new era.<sup>3</sup> To bring our economy out of recession, we delivered the largest tax relief in a generation.<sup>4</sup> To insist on integrity in American business, we passed tough reforms, and we are holding corporate criminals to account.<sup>5</sup>

Some might call this a good record. I call it a good start. Tonight I ask the House and Senate to join me in the next bold steps to serve our fellow citizens.

Our first goal is clear: We must have an economy that grows fast enough to employ every man and woman who seeks a job.

After recession, terrorist attacks, corporate scandals, and stock market declines, our economy is recovering – yet it is not growing fast enough, or strongly enough. With unemployment rising,<sup>6</sup> our Nation needs more small businesses to open, more companies to invest and expand, more employers to put up the sign that says, “Help Wanted.”

Jobs are created when the economy grows; the economy grows when Americans have more money to spend and invest; and the best,

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<sup>3</sup> H.R.5005, Sponsor: Rep Armey, Richard K. [TX-26] (by request) (introduced 6/24/2002) Related Bills: [H.RES.502](#), [H.R.4635](#), [H.R.4660](#), [H.R.5506](#), [H.R.5710](#), [S.1534](#), [S.2452](#), [S.2546](#), [S.2554](#), [S.2794](#) Latest Major Action: 11/25/2002 Became Public Law No: 107-296. Title: To establish the Department of Homeland Security, and for other purposes. Note: On 11/19/2002, [S.Amdt. 4901](#) substituted text essentially the same as [H.R. 5710](#) in [H.R. 5005](#). The House agreed to the Senate amendment on 11/22/2002. Other earlier bills included [H.R. 4660](#), [S. 1534](#), [S. 2452](#), and [S. 2794](#).

<sup>4</sup> H.R.1836, Sponsor: Rep Thomas, William M. [CA-21] (introduced 5/15/2001) Related Bills: [H.RES.142](#), [H.RES.153](#), [H.R.3](#), [H.R.6](#), [H.R.8](#), [H.R.10](#), [H.R.42](#), [H.R.130](#), [H.R.153](#), [H.R.193](#), [H.R.206](#), [H.R.246](#), [H.R.249](#), [H.R.387](#), [H.R.445](#), [H.R.456](#), [H.R.539](#), [H.R.543](#), [H.R.546](#), [H.R.622](#), [H.R.627](#), [H.R.672](#), [H.R.676](#), [H.R.686](#), [H.R.799](#), [H.R.873](#), [H.R.874](#), [H.R.942](#), [H.R.1018](#), [H.R.1126](#), [H.R.1153](#), [H.R.1190](#), [H.R.1264](#), [H.R.1277](#), [H.R.1285](#), [H.R.1308](#), [H.R.1398](#), [H.R.1437](#), [H.R.1483](#), [H.R.1498](#), [H.R.1603](#), [S.631](#), [S.896](#) Latest Major Action: 6/7/2001 Became Public Law No: 107-16. Title: To provide for reconciliation pursuant to section 104 of the concurrent resolution on the budget for fiscal year 2002. Note: [H.R. 1836](#), the Economic Growth and Tax Relief Reconciliation Act, included major provisions from [H.R. 3](#), the Economic Growth and Tax Relief Act; from [H.R. 6](#), the Marriage Penalty and Family Tax Relief Act; from [H.R. 8](#), the Death Tax Elimination Act; from [H.R. 10](#) as passed in the House, the Comprehensive Retirement Security and Pension Reform Act; from [H.R. 622](#), the Adoption Tax Credits bill; and from [S. 896](#), the Senate budget reconciliation bill. The House also identified numerous other bills with provisions similar to [H.R. 1836](#).

<sup>5</sup> H.R.3763, Sponsor: Rep Oxley, Michael G. [OH-4] (introduced 2/14/2002) Related Bills: [H.RES.395](#), [H.R.5070](#), [H.R.5118](#), [S.2673](#) Latest Major Action: 7/30/2002 Became Public Law No: 107-204. Title: To protect investors by improving the accuracy and reliability of corporate disclosures made pursuant to the securities laws, and for other purposes.

<sup>6</sup> “The number of persons unemployed 15 weeks or more rose to 3.2 million in December, an increase of 815,000 over the year.” The Employment Situation: December 2002, Bureau of Labor Statistics, January 10, 2003. (<http://www.bls.gov/news.release/empsit.nr0.htm>).

fairest way to make sure Americans have that money is not to tax it away in the first place.

I am proposing that all the income tax reductions set for 2004 and 2006 be made permanent and effective this year.<sup>7</sup> And under my plan, as soon as I have signed the bill, this extra money will start showing up in workers' paychecks.<sup>8</sup> Instead of gradually reducing the marriage penalty,<sup>9</sup> we should do it now.<sup>10</sup> Instead of slowly raising the child credit to a thousand dollars,<sup>11</sup> we should send the checks to American families now.<sup>12</sup>

This tax relief is for everyone who pays income taxes – and it will help our economy immediately. Ninety-two million Americans will keep – this year – an average of almost 1,100 dollars more of their own money.<sup>13</sup> A family of four with an income of 40,000 dollars would see their federal income taxes fall from 1,178 dollars to 45 dollars per year.<sup>14</sup> And our plan

<sup>7</sup> PUBLIC LAW 107-16—JUNE 7, 2001 “In the case of taxable years beginning during calendar year: The corresponding percentages shall be substituted for the following percentages:  
28% 31% 36% 39.6%

2001 .....	27.5%	30.5%	35.5%	39.1%
2002 and 2003 .....	27.0%	30.0%	35.0%	38.6%
2004 and 2005 .....	26.0%	29.0%	34.0%	37.6%
2006 and thereafter .....	25.0%	28.0%	33.0%	35.0%

<sup>8</sup> Taking Action to Strengthen America's Economy fact sheet, p. 2, provided by Keith Hennessy of NEC (X65584).

<sup>9</sup> Sec. 303. H.R. 1836, Sponsor: Rep Thomas, William M. (Bill)(introduced 5/15/2001) Major Action: 6/7/2001 Became Public Law No: 107-16. Title: To provide for reconciliation pursuant to section 104 of the concurrent resolution on the budget for fiscal year 2002. Note: H.R. 1836, the Economic Growth and Tax Relief Reconciliation Act, included major provisions from H.R. 3, the Economic Growth and Tax Relief Act; from H.R. 6, the Marriage Penalty and Family Tax Relief Act; from H.R. 8, the Death Tax Elimination Act; from H.R. 10 as passed in the House, the Comprehensive Retirement Security and Pension Reform Act; from H.R. 622, the Adoption Tax Credits bill; and from S. 896, the Senate budget reconciliation bill. The House also identified numerous other bills with provisions similar to H.R. 1836.

<sup>10</sup> Taking Action to Strengthen America's Economy fact sheet provided by Keith Hennessy of NEC (X65584).

<sup>11</sup> Sec. 201. H.R. 1836, Sponsor: Rep Thomas, William M. (Bill)(introduced 5/15/2001) Major Action: 6/7/2001 Became Public Law No: 107-16. Title: To provide for reconciliation pursuant to section 104 of the concurrent resolution on the budget for fiscal year 2002. Note: H.R. 1836, the Economic Growth and Tax Relief Reconciliation Act, included major provisions from H.R. 3, the Economic Growth and Tax Relief Act; from H.R. 6, the Marriage Penalty and Family Tax Relief Act; from H.R. 8, the Death Tax Elimination Act; from H.R. 10 as passed in the House, the Comprehensive Retirement Security and Pension Reform Act; from H.R. 622, the Adoption Tax Credits bill; and from S. 896, the Senate budget reconciliation bill. The House also identified numerous other bills with provisions similar to H.R. 1836.

<sup>12</sup> Taking Action to Strengthen America's Economy fact sheet provided by Keith Hennessy of NEC (X65584).

<sup>13</sup> “In 2003, 92 million taxpayers would receive, on average, a tax cut of \$1,083 under the economic growth plan.” Effects of Major Individual Income Tax Relief Provisions In Economic Growth Plan fact sheet provided by Janet Holtzblat of Treasury (622-1327).

<sup>14</sup> “Example 2: A married couple with two children and income of \$40,000 will see their taxes decline

will improve the bottom line for more than 23 million small businesses.<sup>15</sup>

You, the Congress, have already passed all these reductions, and promised them for future years.<sup>16</sup> If this tax relief is good for Americans three, or five, or seven years from now, it is even better for Americans today.

We also strengthen the economy by treating investors equally in our tax laws. It is fair to tax a company's profits. It is not fair to again tax the shareholder on the same profits. To boost investor confidence, and to help the nearly 10 million seniors who receive dividend income,<sup>17</sup> I ask you to end the unfair double taxation of dividends.<sup>18</sup>

Lower taxes and greater investment will help this economy expand. More jobs mean more taxpayers – and higher revenues to our government. The best way to address the deficit and move toward a balanced budget is to encourage economic growth – and to show some spending discipline in Washington, D.C. We must work together to fund only our most important priorities. I will send you a budget that increases discretionary spending by

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under the President's Growth Package by \$1,133 (from \$1,178 to \$45) in 2003, a decline of 96%." Examples of Tax Relief in 2003 Under the President's Growth Package, January 7, 2003.

<sup>15</sup> "By accelerating tax reductions that were enacted in the 2001 tax act, the President's Growth Package would provide small business owners with much needed assistance. 23 million small business owners would receive tax cuts averaging \$2,042." Effects of Major Individual Income Tax Relief Provisions In Economic Growth Plan fact sheet provided by Janet Holtzblat of Treasury (622-1327).

<sup>16</sup> H.R. 1836, Sponsor: Rep Thomas, William M. (Bill)(introduced 5/15/2001) Major Action: 6/7/2001 Became Public Law No: 107-16. Title: To provide for reconciliation pursuant to section 104 of the concurrent resolution on the budget for fiscal year 2002. Note: H.R. 1836, the Economic Growth and Tax Relief Reconciliation Act, included major provisions from H.R. 3, the Economic Growth and Tax Relief Act; from H.R. 6, the Marriage Penalty and Family Tax Relief Act; from H.R. 8, the Death Tax Elimination Act; from H.R. 10 as passed in the House, the Comprehensive Retirement Security and Pension Reform Act; from H.R. 622, the Adoption Tax Credits bill; and from S. 896, the Senate budget reconciliation bill. The House also identified numerous other bills with provisions similar to H.R. 1836.

<sup>17</sup> Note: The most recent figure for the number of Americans over 65 who pay taxes on dividends is a little over 9 million, but all seniors who earn money from dividends are considered potential taxpayers by Treasury.

Age	All Returns (millions)	Returns with Stock Dividend Income					
		Number			Amount		
		(millions)	Percent Distribution	As % of All Returns	Total (\$B)	Percent Distribution	Average (\$)
65 and over	28.1	9.8	28.1	34.8	57.9	51.2	5,934

Stock Dividend Income by Age, Department of the Treasury, Office of Tax Analysis, December 20, 2002 provided by James Nunns of Department of the Treasury, Office of Tax Analysis through Bob Carroll of CEA (X55086).

<sup>18</sup> Taking Action to Strengthen America's Economy fact sheet provided by Keith Hennessy of NEC (X65584).

four percent next year<sup>19</sup> – about as much as the average family’s income is expected to grow.<sup>20</sup> And that is a good benchmark for us: Federal spending should not rise any faster than the paychecks of American families.

A growing economy, and a focus on essential priorities, will also be crucial to the future of Social Security. As we continue to work together to keep Social Security sound and reliable, we must offer younger workers a chance to invest in retirement accounts that they will control and they will own.<sup>21</sup>

Our second goal is high quality, affordable health care for all Americans.

The American system of medicine is a model of skill and innovation – with a pace of discovery that is adding good years to our lives. Yet for many people, medical care costs too much – and many have no coverage at all. These problems will not be solved with a nationalized health care system that dictates coverage and rations care. Instead, we must work toward a system in which all Americans have a good insurance policy ... choose their own doctors ... and seniors and low-income Americans receive the help they need. Instead of bureaucrats, and trial lawyers, and HMOs, we must put doctors, and nurses, and patients back in charge of American medicine.

Health care reform must begin with Medicare, because Medicare is the binding commitment of a caring society. We must renew that commitment by giving seniors access to the preventive medicine and new drugs that are transforming health care in America.<sup>22</sup>

Seniors happy with the current Medicare system should be able to keep their coverage just the way it is. And just like you, the members of Congress, members of your staffs, and other federal employees, all seniors should have the choice of a health care plan that provides prescription

<sup>19</sup> Confirmed by Austin Smythe of OMB (X54844).

<sup>20</sup> **Projection by JD Foster of OMB (X69378).**

<sup>21</sup> “Because there will be an expanding number of retirees for Social Security to support in the future, we must apply the power of savings, investing, and compound interest to the challenges of Social Security by introducing personal retirement accounts into the system. Americans would own these assets. After all, it is their money.” Remarks by the President at the 2002 National Summit on Retirement Savings, February 28, 2002. (<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/02/20020228-3.html>).

<sup>22</sup> Draft Medicare 2004 Budget section provided by Austin Smythe of OMB (X54844).

drugs.<sup>23</sup> My budget will commit an additional 400 billion dollars over the next decade to reform and strengthen Medicare.<sup>24</sup> Leaders of both political parties have talked for years about strengthening Medicare – I urge the members of this new Congress to act this year.

To improve our health care system, we must address one of the prime causes of higher costs – the constant threat that physicians and hospitals will be unfairly sued. Because of excessive litigation, everybody pays more for health care – and many parts of America are losing fine doctors.<sup>25</sup> No one has ever been healed by a frivolous lawsuit – and I urge the Congress to pass medical liability reform.

Our third goal is to promote energy independence for our country, while dramatically improving the environment.

I have sent you a comprehensive energy plan to promote energy efficiency and conservation, to develop cleaner technology, and to produce more energy at home. I have sent you Clear Skies legislation that mandates a 70 percent cut in air pollution from power plants over the next 15 years.<sup>26</sup> I have sent you a Healthy Forests Initiative, to help prevent the catastrophic fires that devastate communities, kill wildlife, and burn away millions of acres of treasured forest.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> “In a speech at the University of Minnesota Medical College, President Bush renewed his call for congressional action to provide prescription drug coverage and improve Medicare for seniors and persons with disabilities.” President Renews Call for Prescription Drug Coverage in Medicare New HHS Study Highlights Potential for Medical Breakthroughs, Policy in Focus, Strengthening Medicare (<http://www.whitehouse.gov/infocus/rx-medicare>).

<sup>24</sup> Draft Medicare 2004 Budget section provided by Austin Smythe of OMB (X54844).

<sup>25</sup> President Calls for Medical Liability Reform, Policy in Focus, Strengthening Healthcare (<http://www.whitehouse.gov/infocus/medicalliability/>).

<sup>26</sup> “The Clear Skies Initiative will cut air pollution 70 percent, using a proven, market-based approach that will save American consumers millions of dollars. . . . Cut sulfur dioxide (SO<sub>2</sub>) emissions by 73 percent, from current emissions of 11 million tons to a cap of 4.5 million tons in 2010, and 3 million tons in 2018; Cut emissions of nitrogen oxides (NO<sub>x</sub>) by 67 percent, from current emissions of 5 million tons to a cap of 2.1 million tons in 2008, and to 1.7 million tons in 2018; and Cutting mercury emissions by 69 percent, - the first-ever national cap on mercury emissions. Emissions will be cut from current emissions of 48 tons to a cap of 26 tons in 2010, and 15 tons in 2018.” Executive Summary, The Clear Skies Initiative, February 14, 2002. ([http://www.epa.gov/air/clearskies/pdfs/ro\\_clear\\_skies\\_book.pdf](http://www.epa.gov/air/clearskies/pdfs/ro_clear_skies_book.pdf)).

<sup>27</sup> “President Bush is directing Agriculture Secretary Veneman, Interior Secretary Norton and Council on Environmental Quality Chairman Connaughton to improve regulatory processes to ensure more timely decisions, greater efficiency, and better results in reducing the risk of catastrophic wildfires by restoring forest health.” The Healthy Forests Initiative, August 22, 2002. ([http://www.whitehouse.gov/infocus/healthyforests/Healthy\\_Forests\\_v2.pdf](http://www.whitehouse.gov/infocus/healthyforests/Healthy_Forests_v2.pdf)).

I urge you to pass these measures, for the good of both our environment and our economy. Even more, I ask you to take a crucial step, and protect our environment in ways that generations before us could not have imagined. In this century, the greatest environmental progress will come about, not through endless lawsuits or command and control regulations, but through technology and innovation. Tonight I am proposing 1.2 billion dollars in research funding so that America can lead the world in developing clean, hydrogen-powered automobiles.<sup>28</sup>

A simple chemical reaction between hydrogen and oxygen generates energy, which can be used to power a car – producing only water, not exhaust fumes.<sup>29</sup> With a new national commitment, our scientists and engineers will overcome obstacles to taking these cars from laboratory to showroom – so that the first car driven by a child born today could be powered by hydrogen, and pollution-free. Join me in this important innovation – to make our air significantly cleaner, and our country much less dependent on foreign sources of energy.

Our fourth goal is to apply the compassion of America to the deepest problems of America. For so many in our country – the homeless, the fatherless, the addicted – the need is great. Yet there is power – wonder-working power – in the goodness, and idealism, and faith of the American people.

Americans are doing the work of compassion every day – visiting prisoners, providing shelter to battered women, bringing companionship to lonely seniors. These good works deserve our praise ... they deserve our personal support ... and, when appropriate, they deserve the assistance of our government. I urge you to pass both my faith-based initiative<sup>30</sup> and the Citizen Service Act<sup>31</sup> – to encourage acts of compassion that can transform America, one heart and one soul at a time.

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<sup>28</sup> Table 2. Five Year Budget Profile (\$ millions) Total, Freedom FreedomCAR: \$1.2 billion. Defining Hydrogen Initiatives Fact Sheet provided by Marcus Peacock of OMB (X59145).

<sup>29</sup> “A fuel cell produces electricity, water, and heat using fuel and oxygen in the air. Water is the only emission when hydrogen is the fuel.” Fuel Cells: Green Power, Los Alamos National Laboratory/Department of Energy, Los Alamos National Laboratory web site (<http://www.lanl.gov/energy/est/transportation/trans/pdfs/fuelcells/fc.pdf>)

<sup>30</sup> S. 1924, Sponsor: Sen Lieberman, Joseph I. [CT] (introduced 2/8/2002) Latest Major Action: 2/8/2002 Referred to Senate committee. Status: Read twice and referred to the Committee on Finance. Title: A bill to promote charitable giving, and for other purposes.

<sup>31</sup> H.R. 4854, Sponsor: Rep Hoekstra, Peter [MI-2] (introduced 5/24/2002) Latest Major Action: 6/20/2002 House preparation for floor. Status: Placed on the Union Calendar, Calendar No. 312. Title: To reauthorize and reform the national service laws.

Last year, I called on my fellow citizens to participate in USA Freedom Corps, which is enlisting tens of thousands of new volunteers across America.<sup>32</sup> Tonight I ask Congress and the American people to focus the spirit of service and the resources of government on the needs of some of our most vulnerable citizens – boys and girls trying to grow up without guidance and attention ... and children who have to go through a prison gate to be hugged by their mom or dad. I propose a 450 million dollar initiative to bring mentors to more than a million disadvantaged junior high students and children of prisoners.<sup>33</sup> Government will support the training and recruiting of mentors, yet it is the men and women of America who will fill the need. One mentor, one person, can change a life forever – and I urge you to be that one person.

Another cause of hopelessness is addiction to drugs. Addiction crowds out friendship, ambition, moral conviction, and reduces all the richness of life to a single destructive desire. As a government, we are fighting illegal drugs by cutting off supplies, and reducing demand through anti-drug education programs. Yet for those already addicted, the fight against drugs is a fight for their own lives.

Too many Americans in search of treatment cannot get it. So tonight I propose a new 600 million dollar program to help an additional 300,000 Americans receive treatment over the next three years.<sup>34</sup>

Our Nation is blessed with recovery programs that do amazing work. One of them is found at the Healing Place Church in Baton Rouge, Louisiana.<sup>35</sup> A man in the program said, "God does miracles in people's lives, and you never think it could be you."<sup>36</sup> Tonight, let us bring to all

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<sup>32</sup> "The Corporation for National and Community Service will revise and strengthen its AmeriCorps programs, starting with an increase of 25,000 members in 2003. CNCS will be asked to leverage government funds to produce more volunteerism, which will allow more people to contribute even more to their communities in a meaningful way." USA Freedom Corps Policy Book (<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/01/freedom-corps-policy-book-05.html#sec5-2>).

<sup>33</sup> Target group between the ages of 11-14. This is a three-year initiative which will spend about \$150 million a year. Information provided by Steve Garrison and Lindsey Kozberg of USA Freedom Corps (X67346).

<sup>34</sup> Taking Action to Heal America's Drug Users draft fact sheet and additional information provided by Jay Lefkowitz of OPD (X61475). Three year initiative, proposed funding at \$200 million per year to reach out to the 100,000 people per year who cannot get drug treatment.

<sup>35</sup> Church vetted by Jim Towey of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives (X65675).

<sup>36</sup> "Dale and Karen Braud have attended Set Free for several weeks. 'It's changed our lives,' said Dale Braud. 'Jesus opened our eyes in ways you can't imagine.' The Brauds said they were addicted to cocaine and alcohol, and had cocaine habits of more than \$2,000 a day. "God did a 180 degree change

Americans who struggle with drug addiction this message of hope: The miracle of recovery is possible, and it could be you.

By caring for children who need mentors, and for addicted men and women who need treatment, we are building a more welcoming society – a culture that values every life. And in this work we must not overlook the weakest among us. I ask you to protect infants at the very hour of birth, and end the practice of partial-birth abortion.<sup>37</sup> And because no human life should be started or ended as the object of an experiment, I ask you to set a high standard for humanity and pass a law against all human cloning.<sup>38</sup>

The qualities of courage and compassion that we strive for in America also determine our conduct abroad. The American flag stands for more than our power and our interests. Our Founders dedicated this country to the cause of human dignity – the rights of every person and the possibilities of every life. This conviction leads us into the world to help the afflicted, and defend the peace, and confound the designs of evil men. In Afghanistan, we helped to liberate an oppressed people ... and we will continue helping them secure their country, rebuild their society, and educate all their children – boys and girls. In the Middle East, we will continue to seek peace between a secure Israel and a democratic Palestine. Across the earth, America is feeding the hungry; more than 60 percent of international food aid comes as a gift from the people of the United States.<sup>39</sup>

As our Nation moves troops and builds alliances to make our world safer, we must also remember our calling, as a blessed country, to make this world better. Today, on the continent of Africa, nearly 30 million people

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in our lives. God does miracles in people's lives, and you never think it could be you,' Dale Braud said." Brenda B. Dahmer, "Breaking Addictions," State-Times/Morning Advocate (Baton Rouge, LA.), April 27, 2002.

<sup>37</sup> H.R.4965, Sponsor: Rep Chabot, Steve(introduced 6/19/2002) Related Bills: H.RES.498 Latest Major Action: 7/26/2002 Senate preparation for floor. Status: Read the second time. Placed on Senate Legislative Calendar under General Orders. Calendar No. 521. Title: To prohibit the procedure commonly known as partial-birth abortion.

<sup>38</sup> S.1899, Sponsor: Sen Brownback, Sam(introduced 1/28/2002) Latest Major Action: 1/28/2002 Referred to Senate committee. Status: Read twice and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary. Title: A bill to amend title 18, United States Code, to prohibit human cloning.

<sup>39</sup> "In 2001, 6.8 million tons (62 percent of the global deliveries) were financed by the United States, 1.9 million tons by the European Union (Commission and Member States) (17 percent), and 0.9 million tons (8 percent) by Japan." International Food Aid Information System, 2001 Food Aid Flows, The Food Aid Monitor, World Food Programme, May 2002 provided by [REDACTED] b(3) 50 USC 3507

[REDACTED] b(3) 50 USC 3507

have the AIDS virus – including three million children under the age of 15.<sup>40</sup> There are whole countries in Africa where more than one-third of the adult population carries the infection.<sup>41</sup> More than four million require immediate drug treatment.<sup>42</sup> Yet across that continent, only 50,000 AIDS victims – only 50,000 – are receiving the medicine they need.<sup>43</sup>

Because the AIDS diagnosis is considered a death sentence, many do not seek treatment. Almost all who do are turned away. A doctor in rural South Africa describes his frustration. He says, “We have no medicines ... many hospitals tell [people], ‘You’ve got AIDS. We can’t help you. Go home and die.’”<sup>44</sup>

In an age of miraculous medicines, no person should have to hear those words. AIDS can be prevented. Anti-retroviral drugs can extend life for many years. And the cost of those drugs has dropped from 12,000

<sup>40</sup> Sub-Saharan Africa # of adults and children living with AIDS: 29.4 million. Sub-Saharan Africa number of Children living with AIDS: 3.5 million. Regional HIV/AIDS Statistics and Features, End Of 2002, AIDS Epidemic Update, December 2002.

([http://www.unaids.org/worldaidsday/2002/press/update/epiupdate\\_en.pdf](http://www.unaids.org/worldaidsday/2002/press/update/epiupdate_en.pdf)). Note: We are citing the Sub-Saharan Africa number as all of Africa because North Africa and the Middle East together only have 550,000 living with AIDS, which is still short of 30,000.

<sup>41</sup> Examples: Swaziland HIV/AIDS - adult prevalence rate: 35.6% (2002 est.), CIA World Fact Book, 2002. (<http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/print/wz.html>). Botswana HIV/AIDS - adult prevalence rate: 35.8% (1999 est.), CIA World Fact Book, 2002.

(<http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/print/bc.html>).

<sup>42</sup> “Coverage in sub-Saharan Africa, where the burden is greatest, remains unacceptably low, at only 1% while over 4 million people are in need.” A Commitment to Action for Expanded Access to HIV/AIDS Treatment, International HIV Treatment Access Coalition, UN/WHO, December 2002.

([http://www.who.int/hiv/pub/arv/who\\_hiv\\_2002\\_24.pdf](http://www.who.int/hiv/pub/arv/who_hiv_2002_24.pdf)).

<sup>43</sup> Coverage of ART in developing countries, December 2002 (adults by region)

Region	Number of people on ART	Estimated need	Coverage
Sub Saharan Africa	50,000	4,100,000	1%

A Commitment to Action for Expanded Access to HIV/AIDS Treatment, International HIV Treatment Access Coalition, UN/WHO, December 2002. ([http://www.who.int/hiv/pub/arv/who\\_hiv\\_2002\\_24.pdf](http://www.who.int/hiv/pub/arv/who_hiv_2002_24.pdf)).

<sup>44</sup> “‘He’s right, you know,’ says Dr. Tony Moll, who has driven us up the dirt track from the 350-bed hospital he heads in Tugela Ferry. “‘We have no medicines for AIDS. So many hospitals tell them, “‘You’ve got AIDS. We can’t help you. Go home and die.” No one wants to be tested either, he adds, unless treatment is available. ‘If the choice is to know and get nothing,’ he says, ‘they don’t want to know.’” Johanna McGeary, “Death Stalks a Continent,” *Time*, 2001.

(<http://www.time.com/time/2001/aidsinafrica/cover2.html>).

<sup>45</sup> Note: These price drops reflect special rates for developing nations. “By December 2001, certain combinations of generic drugs became available for \$350 per person per year, and by April 2002 a first line triple drug combination was being offered for US\$ 295 per year, while second line regimens including a protease inhibitor were being offered for approximately US\$1000 per year (when combining generic nucleosides with protease inhibitors from the R&D industry). Three years ago, the price of combination antiretroviral drugs to treat one patient for one year was typically between US\$10,000 and US\$12,000.” Accelerating Access, Summary Status For 4th Meeting Of Contact Group, WHO/UNAIDS Secretariate, May 28, 2002. ([www.unaids.org/acc\\_access/contact\\_group/> May2002/update\\_en.doc](http://www.unaids.org/acc_access/contact_group/> May2002/update_en.doc)).

dollars a year to under 300 dollars a year<sup>45</sup> – which places a tremendous possibility within our grasp.

Ladies and gentlemen, seldom has history offered a greater opportunity to do so much for so many. We have confronted, and will continue to confront, HIV/AIDS in our own country. And to meet a severe and urgent crisis abroad, tonight I propose the Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief – a work of mercy beyond all current international efforts to help the people of Africa. This comprehensive plan will prevent seven million new AIDS infections ... treat at least two million people with life-extending drugs ... and provide humane care for millions of people suffering from AIDS, and for children orphaned by AIDS. I ask the Congress to commit 15 billion dollars over the next five years, including nearly ten billion dollars in new money, to turn the tide against AIDS in the most afflicted nations of Africa and the Caribbean.<sup>46</sup>

This Nation can lead the world in sparing innocent people from a plague of nature. And this Nation is leading the world in confronting and defeating the man-made evil of international terrorism.

There are days when the American people do not hear news about the war on terror. There is never a day when I do not learn of another threat, or receive reports of operations in progress, or give an order in this global war against a scattered network of killers.<sup>47</sup> The war goes on, and we are winning.

To date we have arrested, or otherwise dealt with, many key commanders of al-Qaida. They include a man who directed logistics and funding for the September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks<sup>48</sup> ... the chief of al-Qaida operations

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<sup>45</sup> Note: These price drops reflect special rates for developing nations. "By December 2001, certain combinations of generic drugs became available for \$350 per person per year, and by April 2002 a first line triple drug combination was being offered for US\$ 295 per year, while second line regimens including a protease inhibitor were being offered for approximately US\$1000 per year (when combining generic nucleosides with protease inhibitors from the R&D industry). Three years ago, the price of combination antiretroviral drugs to treat one patient for one year was typically between US\$10,000 and US\$12,000." Accelerating Access, Summary Status For 4th Meeting Of Contact Group, WHO/UNAIDS Secretariate, May 28, 2002. ([www.unaids.org/acc\\_access/contact\\_group/> May2002/update\\_en.doc](http://www.unaids.org/acc_access/contact_group/> May2002/update_en.doc)).

<sup>46</sup> Confirmed by Jay Lefkowitz of OPD (X61475). Note: This figure disagrees with the draft budget chapter on this initiative. Jay is taking steps to see that this is corrected.

<sup>47</sup> Linda Flohr of NSC Combatting Terrorism notes that the President may not get always get briefings on Sundays or holidays. Dr. Rice and Steve Hadley have not reacted negatively to this language.

<sup>48</sup> Refers to Ramzi Bin al-Shibh. Captured, BBC News, 11/14/2002. Confirmed by David Shedd of NSC Intel. (X69341) and Linda Flohr of NSC Combatting Terrorism (X69361).

in the Persian Gulf who planned the bombings of our embassies in East Africa and the USS Cole<sup>49</sup> ... an al-Qaida operations chief from Southeast Asia<sup>50</sup> ... a former director of al-Qaida's training camps in Afghanistan<sup>51</sup> ... a key al-Qaida operative in Europe<sup>52</sup> ... and a major al-Qaida leader in Yemen.<sup>53</sup> All told, more than 3,000 suspected terrorists have been arrested in many countries.<sup>54</sup> And many others have met a different fate. They are no longer a problem for the United States and our friends and allies.

We are working closely with other nations to prevent further attacks. America and coalition countries have uncovered and stopped terrorist conspiracies targeting the American embassy in Yemen<sup>55</sup> ... the American embassy in Singapore<sup>56</sup> ... a Saudi military base<sup>57</sup> ... and ships in the straits of Hormuz,<sup>58</sup> and the straits of Gibraltar.<sup>59</sup> We have broken al-Qaida cells in Hamburg,<sup>60</sup> and Milan,<sup>61</sup> and Madrid,<sup>62</sup> and London,<sup>63</sup> and Paris

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<sup>49</sup> Refers to Abd al-Rahim al-Nashiri. Captured, Washington Post, 12/24/2002. Confirmed by David Shedd of NSC Intel. (X69341) and Linda Flohr of NSC Combating Terrorism (X69361).

<sup>50</sup> Refers to Omar al-Farouq. Captured, Fox News, 10/2/2002. Confirmed by David Shedd of NSC Intel. (X69341).

<sup>51</sup> Refers to Ibn Al-Shaykh al-Libi. Captured, Fox News, 1/8/2002. Confirmed by David Shedd of NSC Intel. (X69341).

<sup>52</sup> Refers to Essid Sami Bin Khemais. Captured, CBC News, 6/2002; MSNBC. Confirmed by David Shedd of NSC Intel. (X69341).

<sup>53</sup> Refers to Qaed Salim Sinan al-Harethi. Dead, WCBS News Radio, 11/22/2002.

<sup>54</sup> Confirmed with CIA through John Quattrochi of NSC Intel. (X69341) and Linda Flohr of NSC Combating Terrorism (X69361).

<sup>55</sup> \*\* Source with Jen Reilly. Confirmed by Mary Sturtevant of NSC Intel. (X69341) and Linda Flohr of NSC Combating Terrorism (X69361).

<sup>56</sup> Craig Francis, "Singapore 'Terror Network' Broken," CNN, January 7, 2002.

(<http://asia.cnn.com/2002/WORLD/asiapcf/southeast/01/07/singapore.arrests/?related>). Additional \*\* source with Jen Reilly. Confirmed by Mary Sturtevant of NSC Intel. (X69341) and Linda Flohr of NSC Combating Terrorism (X69361).

<sup>57</sup> Declassified in context through John Quattrochi of NSC Intel. (X69341). \*\* Source with Jen Reilly.

<sup>58</sup> \*\* Source with Jen Reilly. Confirmed by Mary Sturtevant of NSC Intel. (X69341) and Linda Flohr of NSC Combating Terrorism (X69361).

<sup>59</sup> \*\* Source with Jen Reilly. Confirmed by Mary Sturtevant of NSC Intel. (X69341) and Linda Flohr of NSC Combating Terrorism (X69361).

<sup>60</sup> Associated Press, "Prosecutor: Hamburg al-Qaida cell planned Sept. 11 attack," *The Mercury News*, August 29, 2002. (<http://www.bayarea.com/mld/mercurynews/3962629.htm>). Confirmed by Mary Sturtevant of NSC Intel. (X69341) and Linda Flohr of NSC Combating Terrorism (X69361).

<sup>61</sup> Designation of 10 Terrorist Financiers Fact Sheet, U.S. Department of the Treasury Office of Public Affairs, April 19, 2002. (<http://usinfo.state.gov/topical/pol/terror/02041900.htm>). Confirmed by Mary Sturtevant of NSC Intel. (X69341) and Linda Flohr of NSC Combating Terrorism (X69361).

<sup>62</sup> Ciaran Giles, "16 Al-Qaida Suspects Arrested in Spain," *The Associated Press*, January 24, 2003. ([http://www.nydailynews.com/front/breaking\\_news/story/54284p-50872c.html](http://www.nydailynews.com/front/breaking_news/story/54284p-50872c.html)). Confirmed by Mary Sturtevant of NSC Intel. (X69341) and Linda Flohr of NSC Combating Terrorism (X69361).

<sup>63</sup> Neil Mackay, "M15 Foils Al-Qaeda's London Cyanide Plot," *The Sunday Herald*, 2002. (<http://www.sundayherald.com/29314>). "Three Charged Over London Underground Cyanide Plot," Australian Broadcasting Corporation, November 17, 2002.

<sup>64</sup> – as well as Buffalo,<sup>65</sup> New York.

We have the terrorists on the run, and we are keeping them on the run. One by one, the terrorists are learning the meaning of American justice.

As we fight this war, we will remember where it began – here, in our own country. This government is taking unprecedented measures to protect our people and defend our homeland. We have intensified security at the borders and ports of entry<sup>66</sup> ... posted more than 50,000 newly trained federal screeners in airports<sup>67</sup> ... begun inoculating troops and first responders against smallpox<sup>68</sup> ... and are deploying the Nation's first early warning network of sensors to detect biological attack.<sup>69</sup> And this year, for the first time, we are beginning to field a defense to protect this Nation against ballistic missiles.<sup>70</sup>

I thank the Congress for supporting these measures. I ask you tonight to add to our future security with a major research and production effort to guard our people against bio-terrorism, called Project Bioshield. The budget I send you will propose almost six billion dollars to quickly make available effective vaccines and treatments against agents like anthrax, botulinum toxin, Ebola, and plague.<sup>71</sup> We must assume that our

(<http://abc.net.au/news/newsitems/s728510.htm>). Supplementary \*\* source with Jen Reilly. Confirmed by Mary Sturtevant of NSC Intel. (X69341) and Linda Flohr of NSC Combating Terrorism (X69361).

<sup>64</sup> 'Shoe bomber' arrests in Paris, BBC News, November 26, 2002.

(<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/2514091.stm>). Confirmed by Mary Sturtevant of NSC Intel. (X69341) and Linda Flohr of NSC Combating Terrorism (X69361).

<sup>65</sup> "Six al-Qaeda Suspects in Buffalo Denied Bail," USA Today, September 18, 2002.

([http://www.usatoday.com/news/nation/2002-09-17-buffalo\\_x.htm](http://www.usatoday.com/news/nation/2002-09-17-buffalo_x.htm)). Confirmed by Mary Sturtevant of NSC Intel. (X69341) and Linda Flohr of NSC Combating Terrorism (X69361).

<sup>66</sup> "And so, today, I've sent up an emergency request to the United States Congress of \$27 billion, \$5 billion of which will be spent on our airports and on our borders, to make sure Americans are more secure and more safe than ever before." President Promotes Secure and Open Borders in El Paso, March 21, 2002. (<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/03/20020321-7.html>).

<sup>67</sup> TSA, Press Release, January 3, 2003. (<http://www.tsa.gov/public/display?theme=44&content=202>). Note: The Chief of Staff's Office asked that we round this number down (56,000) as there may be less screeners in the near future.

<sup>68</sup> "The first shots were to be given to officials from Connecticut's Department of Public Health and medical personnel from UConn Health Care Center on Friday, the day a law protecting those giving the shots from lawsuits takes effect." "Volunteers Prepare for Smallpox Shots," *The Associated Press*, January 24, 2003. ([http://abcnews.go.com/wire/Living/ap20030124\\_449.html](http://abcnews.go.com/wire/Living/ap20030124_449.html)).

<sup>69</sup> Judith Miller, "U.S. Deploys Bioterrorism Detectors in New York," *The New York Times* reprinted in the International Herald Tribune, January 23, 2002. (<http://www.iht.com/articles/84292.html>).

<sup>70</sup> Department of Defense, Press Release, December 17, 2002.

([http://www.defenselink.mil/news/Dec2002/b12172002\\_bt642-02.html](http://www.defenselink.mil/news/Dec2002/b12172002_bt642-02.html)).

<sup>71</sup> Note: Plague and ebola are not covered under the \$5.6 billion (over 10 years), but research for treatments will be authorized under this initiative but not yet funded. Hence we say diseases "like" those

enemies would use these diseases as weapons, and we must act before the dangers are upon us.

Since September 11<sup>th</sup>, our intelligence and law enforcement agencies have worked more closely than ever to track and disrupt the terrorists. The FBI is improving its ability to analyze intelligence, and transforming itself to meet new threats. And tonight, I am instructing the leaders of the FBI, Central Intelligence, Homeland Security, and the Department of Defense to develop a Terrorist Threat Integration Center, to merge and analyze all threat information in a single location. Our government must have the very best information possible, and we will use it to make sure the right people are in the right places to protect our citizens.

Our war against terror is a contest of will, in which perseverance is power. In the ruins of two towers, at the western wall of the Pentagon, on a field in Pennsylvania, this Nation made a pledge, and we renew that pledge tonight: Whatever the duration of this struggle, and whatever the difficulties, we will not permit the triumph of violence in the affairs of men – free people will set the course of history.

Today, the gravest danger in the war on terror ... the gravest danger facing America and the world ... is outlaw regimes that seek and possess nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons. These regimes could use such weapons for blackmail, terror, and mass murder. They could also give or sell those weapons to their terrorist allies, who would use them without the least hesitation.

This threat is new; America's duty is familiar. Throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century, small groups of men seized control of great nations ... built armies and arsenals ... and set out to dominate the weak and intimidate the world. In each case, their ambitions of cruelty and murder had no limit. In each case, the ambitions of Hitlerism, militarism, and communism were defeated by the will of free peoples, by the strength of great alliances, and by the might of the United States of America. Now, in this century, the ideology of power and domination has appeared again, and seeks to gain the ultimate weapons of terror. Once again, this Nation and our friends are all that stand between a world at peace, and a world of chaos and constant alarm.

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named. Information provided by Jim Capretta and Patrick Aylward of OMB (X55178). Compromise language between OMB and Chief of Staff's office.

Once again, we are called to defend the safety of our people, and the hopes of all mankind. And we accept this responsibility.

America is making a broad and determined effort to confront these dangers. We have called on the United Nations to fulfill its charter, and stand by its demand that Iraq disarm.<sup>72</sup> We are strongly supporting the International Atomic Energy Agency in its mission to track and control nuclear materials around the world.<sup>73</sup> We are working with other governments to secure nuclear materials in the former Soviet Union,<sup>74</sup> and to strengthen global treaties banning the production and shipment of missile technologies and weapons of mass destruction.<sup>75</sup>

In all of these efforts, however, America's purpose is more than to follow a process – it is to achieve a result: the end of terrible threats to the civilized world. All free nations have a stake in preventing sudden and catastrophic attack. We are asking them to join us, and many are doing so. Yet the course of this Nation does not depend on the decisions of others. Whatever action is required, whenever action is necessary, I will defend the freedom and security of the American people.

Different threats require different strategies. In Iran, we continue to see a government that represses its people, pursues weapons of mass destruction, and supports terror. We also see Iranian citizens risking intimidation and death as they speak out for liberty, human rights, and democracy.<sup>76</sup> Iranians, like all people, have a right to choose their own government, and determine their own destiny – and the United States supports their aspirations to live in freedom.

<sup>72</sup> Remarks to the UN General Assembly, October 12, 2002.

<sup>73</sup> "The United States channels considerable support for peaceful nuclear cooperation through the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)." Article IV of the NPT: U.S. Support for Peaceful Nuclear Cooperation, Bureau of Nonproliferation, State Department, January 20, 2001. (<http://www.state.gov/np/rls/fs/2001/3052.htm>).

<sup>74</sup> "Our new nuclear-nonproliferation approach does not deal with Russia alone. Our initiatives have a worldwide reach. The United States is securing materials in Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Uzbekistan." Spencer Abraham, "World's Watchmen: The U.S., Russia, and Nuclear Nonproliferation," National Review Online, June 3, 2002. ([http://www.energy.gov/HQPress/editorials/2002/20020603\\_v.html](http://www.energy.gov/HQPress/editorials/2002/20020603_v.html)).

<sup>75</sup> John Schlosser, Director, Office of Export Controls and Sanctions, Bureau of Nonproliferation, Remarks to the Transshipment Enforcement Conference for Middle East States, Barcelona, Spain, May 20, 2002. (<http://www.state.gov/np/rls/rm/10546.htm>).

<sup>76</sup> Iran: Press Crackdown Intensifies, Human Rights Watch, January 15, 2003. (<http://hrw.org/press/2003/01/iran0115.htm>). "In June, Molavi Imam Bakhsh Narouie, prayer leader of a Sunni mosque in the town of Miyankang in Sistan va Baluchestan province in south-eastern Iran was killed, leading to protests from the local community who believed that the authorities were responsible." Human Rights Developments, Iran, Human Rights Watch web site (<http://www.hrw.org/worldreport99/mideast/iran.html>).

On the Korean peninsula, an oppressive regime rules a people living in fear and starvation. Throughout the 1990s, the United States relied on a negotiated framework to keep North Korea from gaining nuclear weapons.<sup>77</sup> We now know that the regime was deceiving the world, and developing those weapons all along.<sup>78</sup> And today the North Korean regime is using its nuclear program to incite fear and seek concessions. America and the world will not be blackmailed. America is working with the countries of the region – South Korea, Japan,<sup>79</sup> China,<sup>80</sup> and Russia<sup>81</sup> – to find a peaceful solution, and to show the North Korean government that nuclear weapons will bring only isolation, economic stagnation, and continued hardship. The North Korean regime will find respect in the world, and revival for its people, only when it turns away from its nuclear ambitions.

Our Nation and the world must learn the lessons of the Korean peninsula, and not allow an even greater threat to rise up in Iraq. A brutal dictator, with a history of reckless aggression ... with ties to terrorism ... with great potential wealth ... will not be permitted to dominate a vital region and threaten the United States.

Twelve years ago, Saddam Hussein faced the prospect of being the last casualty in a war he had started and lost.<sup>82</sup> To spare himself, he agreed to disarm of all weapons of mass destruction.<sup>83</sup> For the next 12

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<sup>77</sup> Agreed Framework Between the United States of America and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, October 21, 1994. (<http://www.ceip.org/files/projects/npp/resources/koreaaf.htm>).

<sup>78</sup> "Under the 1994 agreement, North Korea was supposed to abandon nuclear programs that could create weapons, in return for international help building nuclear energy reactors, as well as fuel oil shipments. This autumn, U-S officials said North Korea admitted that it had resumed its nuclear program." Voice of America, December 30, 2002. (<http://www.globalsecurity.org/wmd/library/news/dprk/2002/dprk-021230-335f110a.htm>).

<sup>79</sup> Joint US-Japan-ROK Trilateral Statement, October 26, 2002. (<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/10/20021026-1.html>).

<sup>80</sup> "Russia, which with China is one of the communist North's few allies, has sent an envoy to Pyongyang to try to resolve the standoff, and Seoul announced its plan to send envoys last week after a round of Cabinet-level talks between North and South in Seoul." Joseph Coleman, "North Korea denounces UN agency, talks to Seoul," *The Associated Press*, January 28, 2003. ([http://www.boston.com/dailyglobe2/028/nation/North\\_Korea\\_denounces\\_UN\\_agency\\_talks\\_to\\_Seoul+.s.html](http://www.boston.com/dailyglobe2/028/nation/North_Korea_denounces_UN_agency_talks_to_Seoul+.s.html)).

<sup>81</sup> "Russia: North Korea Ready for U.S. Talks," *The Moscow Times*, January 23, 2003. (<http://www.moscowtimes.ru/stories/2003/01/23/011.html>).

<sup>82</sup> Resolution 687 (1991), Adopted by the Security Council at its 2981st meeting on April 3, 1991. ([http://www.tufts.edu/departments/fletcher/multi/gulf\\_states/resolution\\_687.html](http://www.tufts.edu/departments/fletcher/multi/gulf_states/resolution_687.html)).

<sup>83</sup> "On 2 March, the Security Council adopted resolution 686 (1991), demanding that Iraq implement its acceptance of all twelve resolutions and specifying the necessary measures to be undertaken by that country, which would permit a definitive end to hostilities. On 3 March, Iraq informed the Secretary-General and the President of the Security Council that it had agreed to fulfill its obligations under

years, he systematically violated that agreement. He pursued chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons even while inspectors were in his country.<sup>84</sup> Nothing to date has restrained him from his pursuit of these weapons – not economic sanctions, not isolation from the civilized world, not even cruise missile strikes on his military facilities. Almost three months ago, the United Nations Security Council gave Saddam Hussein his final chance to disarm.<sup>85</sup> He has shown instead his utter contempt for the United Nations, and for the opinion of the world.

The 108 UN weapons inspectors<sup>86</sup> were not sent to conduct a scavenger hunt for hidden materials across a country the size of California. The job of the inspectors is to verify that Iraq's regime is disarming. It is up to Iraq to show exactly where it is hiding its banned weapons ... lay those weapons out for the world to see ... and destroy them as directed. Nothing like this has happened.

The United Nations concluded in 1999 that Saddam Hussein had biological weapons materials sufficient to produce over 25,000 liters of anthrax<sup>87</sup> – enough doses to kill several million people.<sup>88</sup> He has not

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resolution 686. THE CEASE-FIRE On 3 April 1991, after more than a month of extensive consultations, the Security Council adopted resolution 687 (1991), setting specific terms for a formal cease-fire to end the conflict. The Council declared that a formal cease-fire between Iraq, Kuwait and the countries cooperating with Kuwait would come into effect after official notification by Iraq of its acceptance of the provisions of the resolution. On 6 April, Iraq officially notified the Secretary-General and the President of the Security Council that it had no choice but to accept the provisions of resolution 687 (1991). On 11 April, the President of the Security Council, on behalf of its members, formally accepted Iraq's notification." United Nations Security Council Resolutions, Concerning The Situation Between Iraq and Kuwait (2 August 1990 - 16 November 1994) United Nations web site (<http://www.undp.org/missions/kuwait/sc.res.htm>).

<sup>84</sup> "After four years of claiming that they had conducted only "small-scale, defensive" research, Iraqi officials finally admitted to inspectors in 1995 to production and weaponization of biological agents. The Iraqis admitted this only after being faced with evidence of their procurement of a large volume of growth media and the defection of Husayn Kamil, former director of Iraq's military industries." Iraq's Weapons of Mass Destruction Programs, CIA/NIE, October 2002. ([http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/iraq\\_wmd/Iraq\\_Oct\\_2002.pdf](http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/iraq_wmd/Iraq_Oct_2002.pdf))

<sup>85</sup> UN Iraq Resolution, November 8, 2002.

(<http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2002/11/08/national/main528675.shtml>).

<sup>86</sup> "As of today, we have a grand total of 256 persons working for UNMOVIC and the IAEA in Iraq. The total number of inspectors is 108, with 97 coming from UNMOVIC and 11 coming from the IAEA. The rest are support staff, including 50 aircrew and 27 local staff." UNMOVIC/IAEA, Press Release, January 25, 2003. ([http://www.iaea.org/worldatom/Press/P\\_release/2003/med-advise\\_027.shtml](http://www.iaea.org/worldatom/Press/P_release/2003/med-advise_027.shtml)).

<sup>87</sup> "Bacillus anthracis spores produced (10-fold concentrated). 8445 litres. Insufficient documents to support quantities. Equipment and unaccounted for growth media does not support the figures. Quantities produced could be at least 3 times greater than stated." UNSCOM's Comprehensive Review, Delivered to the Security Council 25 January 1999. ([http://cns.miis.edu/research/iraq/ucreport/dis\\_bio.htm](http://cns.miis.edu/research/iraq/ucreport/dis_bio.htm)).

<sup>88</sup> Lethality agreed upon by NSC ProStrat and Steve Hadley.

accounted for that material. He has given no evidence that he has destroyed it.

The United Nations concluded that Saddam Hussein had materials sufficient to produce more than 38,000 liters of botulinum toxin<sup>89</sup> – enough to subject millions of people to death by respiratory failure.<sup>90</sup> He has not accounted for that material. He has given no evidence that he has destroyed it.

Our intelligence officials estimate that Saddam Hussein had the materials to produce as much as 500 tons of sarin, mustard, and VX nerve agent.<sup>91</sup> In such quantities, these chemical agents also could kill untold thousands.<sup>92</sup> He has not accounted for these materials. He has given no evidence that he has destroyed them.

U.S. intelligence indicates that Saddam Hussein had upwards of 30,000 munitions capable of delivering chemical agents.<sup>93</sup> Inspectors recently turned up 16 of them,<sup>94</sup> despite Iraq's recent declaration denying their existence. Saddam Hussein has not accounted for the remaining 29,984 of these prohibited munitions.<sup>95</sup> He has given no evidence that he has destroyed them.

From three Iraqi defectors we know that Iraq,<sup>96</sup> in the late 1990s, had several mobile biological weapons labs.<sup>97</sup> These are designed to produce

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<sup>89</sup> "Botulinum toxin produced (10 to 20-fold concentrated) 19180 litres. Insufficient documents to support quantities. Equipment and unaccounted for growth media do not support the figures. Quantities could be more -- at least double the stated amount." UNSCOM's Comprehensive Review, Delivered to the Security Council 25 January 1999. ([http://cns.miis.edu/research/iraq/ucreport/dis\\_bio.htm](http://cns.miis.edu/research/iraq/ucreport/dis_bio.htm)).

<sup>90</sup> Lethality agreed upon by NSC ProStrat and Steve Hadley.

<sup>91</sup> \*\* Document kept by Will Tobey, NSC Prostrat (X69181).

<sup>92</sup> Lethality agreed upon by NSC ProStrat and Steve Hadley.

<sup>93</sup> \*\* Document kept by Will Tobey, NSC Prostrat (X69181) – based on a UN number.

<sup>94</sup> "An UNMOVIC multidisciplinary team visited the Ukhaider Ammunition Storage Area to inspect a large group of bunkers constructed in the late 1990's. During the course of their inspection, the team discovered 11 empty 122 mm chemical warheads and one warhead that requires further evaluation." IAEA, Press Release, January 16, 2003. ([http://www.iaea.org/worldatom/Press/P\\_release/2003/med-advise\\_018.shtml](http://www.iaea.org/worldatom/Press/P_release/2003/med-advise_018.shtml)). "After the find of some empty 122mm chemical munitions at Al Ukhaidhir stores, the Iraqi side has appointed a team to undertake an investigation and comprehensive search to look for similar cases at all locations. One find of four more units was already reported at Al Taji munitions stores. The final results will be reported." UNMOVIC/IAEA, Joint Statement, January 20, 2003. ([http://www.iaea.org/worldatom/Press/P\\_release/2003/med-advise\\_021.shtml](http://www.iaea.org/worldatom/Press/P_release/2003/med-advise_021.shtml)).

<sup>95</sup> Note: This number is for effect, to play off the 16. We do not believe that there are exactly 29,984 additional munitions at large in Iraq.

<sup>96</sup> Vetted by NSC ProStrat and Steve Hadley through [redacted] of CIA. Names cannot be released as yet.

b(3) 50 USC 3507

<sup>97</sup> \*\* Source with Jen Reilly.

germ warfare agents, and can be moved from place to place to evade inspectors. Saddam Hussein has not disclosed these facilities. He has given no evidence that he has destroyed them.

The International Atomic Energy Agency confirmed in the 1990s that Saddam Hussein had an advanced nuclear weapons development program, had a design for a nuclear weapon,<sup>98</sup> and was working on five different methods of enriching uranium for a bomb.<sup>99</sup> The British government has learned that Saddam Hussein recently sought significant quantities of uranium from Africa.<sup>100</sup> Our intelligence sources tell us that he has attempted to purchase high strength aluminum tubes suitable for nuclear weapons production.<sup>101</sup> Saddam Hussein has not credibly explained these activities. He clearly has much to hide.

The dictator of Iraq is not disarming. To the contrary, he is deceiving. From intelligence sources, we know, for instance, that thousands of Iraqi security personnel are at work hiding documents and materials from the UN inspectors – sanitizing inspection sites, and monitoring the inspectors themselves.<sup>102</sup> Iraqi officials accompany the inspectors in order to intimidate witnesses.<sup>103</sup> Iraq is blocking U-2 surveillance flights requested by the United Nations.<sup>104</sup> Iraqi intelligence officers are posing as the scientists inspectors are supposed to interview. Real scientists have been coached by Iraqi officials on what to say. And intelligence sources indicate that Saddam Hussein has ordered that scientists who cooperate with UN inspectors in disarming Iraq will be killed, along with their families.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> IAEA report to the United Nations Secretary-General, transmitted to the UN Security Council, October 8, 1997.

<sup>99</sup>“Electro-magnetic isotope separation (EMIS); Gaseous diffusion uranium enrichment; Gas centrifuge enrichment; R&D on chemical uranium enrichment also took place; In 1981, laser isotopic separation work began and studied both atomic (AVLIS) and molecular (MLIS) technologies.”

Fact Sheet: Iraq's Nuclear Weapon Programme, IAEA web site

(<http://www.iaea.or.at/worldatom/Programmes/ActionTeam/nwp2.html#assess>).

<sup>100</sup> Iraq's Weapons of Mass Destruction, An Assessment of the British Government, p. 6.

(<http://www.ukonline.gov.uk/featurenews/iraqdossier.pdf>).

<sup>101</sup> Iraq's Weapons of Mass Destruction, An Assessment of the British Government, p.26.

(<http://www.ukonline.gov.uk/featurenews/iraqdossier.pdf>).

<sup>102</sup> Majority of paragraph from \*\* document in Will Tobey's possession, NSC (X69181).

<sup>103</sup> Iraq in "Further Material Breach" of U.N. Resolution, U.S. Says, State Department, January 3, 2003.

(<http://usinfo.state.gov/regional/nea/iraq/text2003/0109inspect.htm>).

<sup>104</sup>Thanassis Cambanis, "US says it can build coalition on Iraq, *The Associated Press*, January 24, 2003.

([http://www.boston.com/dailyglobe2/024/nation/US\\_says\\_it\\_can\\_build\\_coalition\\_on\\_Iraq-.shtml](http://www.boston.com/dailyglobe2/024/nation/US_says_it_can_build_coalition_on_Iraq-.shtml)).

<sup>105</sup> Majority of paragraph from \*\* document in Will Tobey's possession, NSC (X69181).

Year after year, Saddam Hussein has gone to elaborate lengths, spent enormous sums, taken great risks, to build and keep weapons of mass destruction – but why? The only possible explanation, the only possible use he could have for those weapons, is to dominate, intimidate, or attack. With nuclear arms or a full arsenal of chemical and biological weapons, Saddam Hussein could resume his ambitions of conquest in the Middle East, and create deadly havoc in the region. And this Congress and the American people must recognize another threat. Evidence from intelligence sources, secret communications, and statements by people now in custody, reveal that Saddam Hussein aids and protects terrorists, including members of al-Qaida.<sup>106</sup> Secretly, and without fingerprints, he could provide one of his hidden weapons to terrorists, or help them develop their own.

Before September 11, 2001, many in the world believed that Saddam Hussein could be contained. But chemical agents and lethal viruses and shadowy terrorist networks are not easily contained. Imagine those 19 hijackers with other weapons, and other plans – this time armed by Saddam Hussein. It would take just one vial, one canister, one crate slipped into this country to bring a day of horror like none we have ever known. We will do everything in our power to make sure that day never comes.

Some have said we must not act until the threat is imminent. Since when have terrorists and tyrants announced their intentions, politely putting us on notice before they strike? If this threat is permitted to fully and suddenly emerge, all actions, all words, and all recriminations would come too late. Trusting in the sanity and restraint of Saddam Hussein is not a strategy, and it is not an option.

This dictator, who is assembling the world's most dangerous weapons, has already used them on whole villages – leaving thousands of his own citizens dead, blind, or disfigured.<sup>107</sup> Iraqi refugees tell us how

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<sup>106</sup> Confirmed by Linda Flohr of NSC (X69361).

<sup>107</sup> “No one knows the total death toll, but I heard firsthand accounts of hundreds of deaths from survivors of 40 villages that were gassed in just three days from Aug. 25 to Aug. 28, 1988.” Ambassador Peter Galbraith op-ed, “Protect the Kurds,” *The Washington Post*, August 11, 2002. Confirmed by Ben Miller, NSC (X69121). Similar reports released by the State Department: “Saddam Hussein launched about 40 gas attacks against Iraqi Kurdish villages and targets in 1987-88 with thousands killed, including the largest attack in March 1988 on Halabjah, a Kurdish town of 45,000 in northern Iraq, causing 3,500 to 5,000 deaths, according to Human Rights Watch.” *Saddam's Brutality Against the Iraqi People*, State Department, May 7, 2002. (<http://usinfo.state.gov/regional/nea/iraq/crimes/crimes2.htm>).

forced confessions are obtained – by torturing children while their parents are made to watch.<sup>108</sup> International human rights groups have catalogued other methods used in the torture chambers of Iraq: electric shock,<sup>109</sup> burning with hot irons,<sup>110</sup> dripping acid on the skin,<sup>111</sup> mutilation with electric drills,<sup>112</sup> cutting out tongues,<sup>113</sup> and rape.<sup>114</sup>

If this is not evil, then evil has no meaning. And tonight I have a message for the brave and oppressed people of Iraq: Your enemy is not surrounding your country – your enemy is ruling your country. And the day he and his regime are removed from power will be the day of your liberation.

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<sup>108</sup> “So the secret police came for his wife. Where is he? They tortured her. And when she didn't break, they tortured his daughter. “When did you last see your father? Has he phoned? Has he been in contact?” They half-crushed the toddler's feet. Now, she doesn't walk, she hobbles, and Ali fears that Saddam's men have crippled his daughter for life.” John Sweeney, “Iraq's Tortured Children,” BBC News, June 22, 2002. ([http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/from\\_our\\_own\\_correspondent/2058253.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/from_our_own_correspondent/2058253.stm)).

<sup>109</sup> “The bodies of many of those executed had evident signs of torture, including the gouging out of the eyes, marks of severe beatings and electric shocks to various parts of the body, when returned to their families. Some detainees died as a result of torture.” Iraq: Systematic Torture of Political Prisoners, Amnesty International, August 15, 2001. (<http://web.amnesty.org/ai.nsf/Index/MDE140082001?OpenDocument&of=COUNTRIES%5CIRAQ>).

<sup>110</sup> “In the mid-1990s Iraq introduced judicial punishments such as amputation of hand and foot, branding of forehead and cutting off of the ears, and many people have been left with permanently mutilated bodies as a result of such punishments.” Iraq: Systematic Torture of Political Prisoners, Amnesty International, August 15, 2001. (<http://web.amnesty.org/ai.nsf/Index/MDE140082001?OpenDocument&of=COUNTRIES%5CIRAQ>).

<sup>111</sup> “According to former detainees, torture techniques included electric shocks administered to the genitals and other areas, beating, burning with hot irons, suspension from rotating ceiling fans, dripping acid on the skin, rape, breaking the limbs, denial of food and water, and threats to rape of otherwise relatives.” Iraq, Amnesty International's Concerns, Amnesty International web site (<http://www.amnesty-volunteer.org/usa/mideast/reports/iraq.html>).

<sup>112</sup> “Other methods of physical torture described by former victims include the use of *Falaqa* (beating on the soles of the feet), extinguishing of cigarettes on various parts of the body, extraction of finger nails and toenails and piercing of the hands with an electric drill.” Iraq: Systematic Torture of Political Prisoners, Amnesty International, August 15, 2001. (<http://web.amnesty.org/ai.nsf/Index/MDE140082001?OpenDocument&of=COUNTRIES%5CIRAQ>).

<sup>113</sup> The ruling Ba'ath Party has a long record in using extra-judicial killings; chopping, decapitation; cutting of noses, ears, tongues and branding fore-heads; thallium poisoning, torture, assassination and rape of his opponents and their family members as systematic official state policy of terror.” The Iraq Foundation, Press Release, April 16, 2001. ([http://www.iraqfoundation.org/hr/2001/april/17\\_kurdish.html](http://www.iraqfoundation.org/hr/2001/april/17_kurdish.html)).

<sup>114</sup> “In addition to physical torture, detainees have been threatened with rape and subjected to mock execution. They have been placed in cells where they could hear the screams of others being tortured and have been deprived of sleep. Some have stayed in solitary confinement for long periods of time. Detainees have also been threatened with bringing in a female relative, especially the wife or the mother, and raping her in front of the detainee. Some of these threats have been carried out.” Iraq: Systematic Torture of Political Prisoners, Amnesty International, August 15, 2001. (<http://web.amnesty.org/ai.nsf/Index/MDE140082001?OpenDocument&of=COUNTRIES%5CIRAQ>).

<sup>115</sup> Resolution 687 (1991), Adopted by the Security Council at its 2981st meeting on

The world has waited 12 years for Iraq to disarm.<sup>115</sup> America will not accept a serious and mounting threat to our country, our friends, and our allies. The United States will ask the UN Security Council to convene next week to consider the facts of Iraq's ongoing defiance of the world. Secretary of State Powell will present information and intelligence about Iraq's illegal weapons programs; its attempts to hide those weapons from inspectors; and its links to terrorist groups. We will consult, but let there be no misunderstanding: If Saddam Hussein does not fully disarm, for the safety of our people, and for the peace of the world, we will lead a coalition to disarm him.

Tonight I also have a message for the men and women who will keep the peace, members of the American Armed Forces: Many of you are assembling in and near the Middle East, and some crucial hours may lie ahead. In those hours, the success of our cause will depend on you. Your training has prepared you. Your honor will guide you. You believe in America, and America believes in you.

Sending Americans into battle is the most profound decision a president can make. The technologies of war have changed. The risks and suffering of war have not. For the brave Americans who bear the risk, no victory is free from sorrow. This Nation fights reluctantly, because we know the cost, and we dread the days of mourning that always come.

We seek peace. We strive for peace. And sometimes peace must be defended. A future lived at the mercy of terrible threats is no peace at all. If war is forced upon us, we will fight in a just cause and by just means – sparing, in every way we can, the innocent. And if war is forced upon us, we will fight with the full force and might of the United States military – and we will prevail. And as we and our coalition partners are doing in Afghanistan, we will bring to the Iraqi people food, and medicines, and supplies ... and freedom.

Many challenges, abroad and at home, have arrived in a single season. In two years, America has gone from a sense of invulnerability to an awareness of peril ... from bitter division in small matters to calm unity in great causes. And we go forward with confidence, because this call of history has come to the right country.

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April 3, 1991. ([http://www.tufts.edu/departments/fletcher/multi/gulf\\_states/resolution\\_687.html](http://www.tufts.edu/departments/fletcher/multi/gulf_states/resolution_687.html)).

Americans are a resolute people, who have risen to every test of our time. Adversity has revealed the character of our country, to the world, and to ourselves.

America is a strong Nation, and honorable in the use of our strength. We exercise power without conquest, and sacrifice for the liberty of strangers.

Americans are a free people, who know that freedom is the right of every person and the future of every nation. The liberty we prize is not America's gift to the world, it is God's gift to humanity.

We Americans have faith in ourselves – but not in ourselves alone. We do not claim to know all the ways of Providence, yet we can trust in them, placing our confidence in the loving God behind all of life, and all of history.

May He guide us now, and may God continue to bless the United States of America.

Thank you.

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